/153 cont.

755 2. Medicine through divination, dependent or independent of the shaman and which creates another social position not very well defined: that of diviner.

3. Medicine which we might call home treatment, independent both of the shaman and the diviner, which is applied through the pragmatic knowledge of the curative properties of plants, by observation of certain customs related to taboo and which, as we shall see later, are of the preventative type.

4. Medicine as practiced by foreigners. This last factor must have had its origin in historic ethnography, and it seems to us to be difficult to classify. It deals with the medical intervention of the curanderos /curers/ of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, to whom, on certain occasions, the Guajiro Indians go for treatment...(1)."

1. Cf. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto: Aspectos de la magia en la Guajira, IV - 52 and 53 in Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, VI, III, No. 1. Bogotá, 1950.

[75] For these reasons when a Guajiro child becomes sick, if his relatives are well-to-do they send for a woman diviner to determine the causes of the illness and to prescribe the corresponding curative system. When the patient is an adult and his illness shows no serious symptoms, they call in the herbalists (women who know the curative properties of certain plants), or they use their personal knowledge, that is, what we call "home" cures. If it is a matter of a serious chronic illness, they will most certainly use the services of a curandero of the Arhuaco /Cagaba/ tribe (Indians of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta), whom the relatives of the sick man go to see, or the latter himself if it is possible. This curandero supplies

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768 or later on if it is impossible at that moment. Sometimes, if the person died tragically, the house is burned. The reason given for this custom is that the illness was produced by an evil spirit which from then onward takes up residence there, taking possession of the house and able to continue killing the rest of the occupants. At the present time this custom is generally reduced to abandoning the habitation that the dead man occupied. They believe that at night one can feel lamentations there and that the spirit of the dead person frequently returns to that place to show his unrest if his relatives have forgotten him in the special cult of the dead. The tragic character of the case is accentuated when the person died violently in that place, in which case the house is definitely abandoned, because the frequent repetition of the scene during the night would make it impossible to live there. When the death occurred as the result of /162/ illness, and the house is not abandoned, if another member of the family should die in [787] it of the same sickness, then it is absolutely necessary that they leave it, as to them it is a clear indication that the spirits of that sickness also reside in the house and sooner or later will kill off all its occupants. /163/

X

THE SMALL FAMILY

592 836 Nowadays the Guajiro man and woman have their first sexual experiences very early, more or less toward the age of ten, but formal marriage is later for the men than the women. Premarital sex relations are casual events. The man may continue them sometimes to a more advanced age, but these also are occasional and their consequences -- pregnancy -- may

/173 cont./

C14 representative animal. It is not that they do not have one, but that in some regions there are no members of their group /present/, and the other people do not know them /that is, the totems/.

At the present time the association of a clan group with a particular totem animal does not imply that its members need offer sacrifices or keep taboos. The belief that they descend from it no longer prevails nor does the special prohibition that no harm is to be done to it or that it should not be killed. The idea that the genesis /of the group/ is to be found in the totem animal does not appear to have been present even in their remote past. The origins that we found in the native narratives do not include this idea. Nowadays, they laugh when one questions them about the animal of their casta; many confess proudly that they belong to the jaguar, to the bee, or to the rattlesnake.... They say they are brave, just like those animals, and that they always cause harm to whoever bothers them. Sometimes they will give an example of how the jaguar devours the other animals, and they believe it is the bravest of them all. It thus acquires the sense of a symbol that prompts them to be aggressive. However, there are others who feel troubled if they have to confess /the name of/ their totem animal as is the case of the clan group represented by the burro. The children refuse to do so and if they do name it say their animal is very ugly, that they do not like it, etc.

614 Where we found a strong manifestation of the survival of
787 the identification of the individual or the group with its totem animal is in the interpretation of dreams. In some cases, if a person dreams of one of these symbolic animals, it means that he is going to have something disagreeable happen to him at the hands of some members of the corresponding clan, that he will be visited by them, that a marriage alliance is forthcoming, that some relative of whom he has dreamed is going to upset social stability by wounding one of the clan symbolized by the

/173 cont./
614 animal, or the reverse, etc., according to the nature and the
787 particular details of the dream.

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614 2. We find the origin of clan marks also commemorated
422 in the preceding narratives. Every group of individuals with
304 the same name living in the same place had the problem of /174/ distinguishing their animals from those near by or at a distance. Mareiwa did not want this situation to give rise to problems. Along with each group of animals, he gave the corresponding name and representative animal and the property mark, which he engraved on a stone. At the present time they still recognize the generic mark of each casta used to brand the animals and /mark/ the individuals belonging to it. Nevertheless, a variation of this original idea is to be found. Clan marks are degenerating into family marks, and in a process even further advanced we find individual marks, constituted sometimes by a special sign or by the owner's initials branded by a hot iron on some visible part of the body of the animal, or a special cut or nick in the ears of sheep or goats. Tattooing the clan mark on individuals is becoming more and more rare; it is more common in the lower than in the higher classes, and among the less acculturated than among those brought into contact with whites. Regional and family variations are found in the same clans. The clan mark persists in some localities but as an adornment, a "luxury," as they say when questioned. To this end they replace the totem by a schematic figure of the animal; and among the mestizos, by the intial of the name. The parts of the body where these marks are generally located are the upper part of the thigh on men, and the upper surface of the forearm on women.

614 Sometimes they still place the totem mark of the clan on
422 objects of domestic use, (gourds, pottery, bags). But this practice is not very common. At the present time, articles of

/196 cont./

685 a peculiar characteristic of the Guajiro Indian. They steal from the time they are children, since the scarcity of food in La Guajira makes the child steal food from his younger brother, from his relatives, and from outsiders; and he eats it immediately or takes it away and hides it in the woods to use when it is possible and convenient to his need.

This means that they are punished when they steal food from their own homes and praised when they steal it from outsiders. Even men frequently steal from the sown fields at night, and there is hardly a stock breeder who does not have to exercise scrupulous vigilance over his livestock day and night to avoid being the victim of thieves. At night the livestock must be shut up in well-fenced corrals, annexed to the houses, but even so they are frequently stolen. During the day the flocks are never allowed to pasture without someone looking after them. The Guajiro knows and can distinguish from others the tracks of his animals, which permits him to track them over long distances, helped by the sandy soil, until he finds where they are. The tracker follows the thief until he finds him, and if he discovers him with the stolen animal it is not unusual for him to kill him. If he knows who the thief is, he goes at once to this man's closest relatives, demanding indemnity, which they will certainly pay, because if they do not, the wronged man will take advantage of any opportunity to recuperate his loss and damages by his own hand.

[787] When they wish to know who the rustler is, they frequently have recourse to the diviner, who takes a cigarette, a wand, or a firebrand, according to his speciality, and lights it. In the wisps of smoke and in the way the flame consumes the burning article, he believes that he can find, after long observation, the thief and the place where the stolen thing can be found. /197/

When they recover an important object, the family that had lost it give a small feast in which an animal is slaughtered to [533] [535] divide among attending friends; chicha and rum are drunk, and a drum is beaten with the monotonous, prolonged rhythm to which they dance the chicha maya for several nights.

[8 cont.]
114 now present it embodied under this title Aspectos de la Magia en
121 la Guajira, a title which not only covers what has been known as magic to the Indian but also many of his mental and sentimental attitudes, the classification of which would be difficult in any other way. [9] [Maps of La Guajira Comisaría on p. 9. Page 10 is blank.]

[11] II

Life Cycle of the Guajiro Shaman

*7756 Symptomatology. A woman shaman [piache], referring to
787 the bodily symptoms which presented themselves as an indication of her calling, mentioned the following: She began to see before her eyes a kind of little star which fell upon her in the manner of a golden rain, the first sign, according to her, of her person being possessed by a spirit. Her sight became clouded, and she fell to the ground in a faint; she remained stretched out there for some time. Then she very slowly regained consciousness. After this first attack of possession, she felt quite well for two or three days, after which she woke up one morning with a sensation of intense cold such as one feels at the beginning of an attack of malaria; she also broke out in a sticky sweat all over her body; then she was overcome, vomited blood, and remained unconscious until afternoon, lying like one dead in her hammock. She began to recover again, and the spirit came down to her, for she
[27a 439] seemed to hear a voice that ordered her, "Eat manilla (2), for if

2. A tobacco paste imported by the natives from Rfohacha (Colombia) or from Maracaibo (Venezuela).

*7756 you do not, you will die." On receiving this order, she immediately told her relatives to bring her manilla, and one of them went with a gold necklace of hers to look for an old woman shaman that she might come to see if our informant had a spirit and, if it were true,

[11 cont.]
*756 might dedicate herself to her teaching. The woman shaman called for the purpose recognized at once that our informant had the spirit appropriate to her calling and began the tutelage of the new curer [curandera].

Another woman shaman narrated the first symptoms of her
[881] vocation in this way. When she had reached the age of reason, that is, about ten or eleven years of age (the time of the initiation for the change from girl to young woman: the beginning of puberty), she felt one day a need to perform a bodily function. She went into the woods to do this, but no matter how much she tried she was unable to do it. This situation repeated itself sev-
[787] eral times. At night she dreamed that a spirit descended and, taking her by the hand, led her to a stream where there was a big field of plantain and ahuyama. At sunrise the next day [12] she woke up depressed and trembling. She heard a voice in her ear
[276] saying, "Eat manilla and macuira (3)." She frequently lost

3. A plant with a leaf similar to that of tobacco.

consciousness and when she came to again was weak and trembling. When she ate what was ordered, the shivering and feeling of illness disappeared as if by enchantment, and she remained in perfect health. She was going to be a shaman. Her mother, who was already one, announced this fact and prepared to begin her training according to the rules.

*756 From the personal statements of these two shamans which
787 we have just reported and from other relative data that we have
171 been able to obtain by word of mouth from other informants, we can deduce the following: 1) The graduations to the rank of shaman (the illumination, we might better call it) are revelations of the wanurú ("spirit of death") which enters the body of certain persons chosen by it, that they may exercise the office of curer magicians. As a proof of the presence of the spirit in new shamans through manifestations of revelation, we may see among the Bororó tribe of Brazil, for example, how the spirit appears in the shape of a monkey or water hog (4), and among the

4. Métraux, Alfred. Le Chamanisme chez les indiens de l'Amérique du Sud Tropicale

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[12 cont.]

[Shamanism Among the Indians of Tropical South America], I, p. 203.

Apinagé [Apinaye] shamans are designated "by the soul of some close relative who puts them in communication with the world of the spirits, from whom they obtain their medical science." (5)

5. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.

Hubert and Mauss, referring to this same matter, state the following: "Magic virtue is acquired by revelation in the majority of Australian tribes. Normally, this revelation is produced in the course of a dream or in an ecstatic or semiecstatic state. This revelation is generally the work of spirits, spirits of the dead, pure spirits, and probably very frequently the work of spirits less clearly classified, whose qualities are not defined and whose mythical figure floats between the shades of mankind, the animal, and the divinity of nature (6)." And with respect to revelation

6. Origen de los poderes mágicos en las sociedades australianas [Origin of Magic Powers in Australian Societies] by Hubert and Mauss, III, 235.

they tell us again: "It is possible and even probable that the theme of the revelation by the spirits of the dead is at least confounded in one and the same complex myth with the theme of the revelation by pure spirits." (7)

7. Ibid. [13]

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2) This spirit reveals its presence by means of a sudden illness, as we have just seen in previously mentioned incidents, or by other variable symptoms, but they are usually actual hysterical attacks, in which the spirit manifests itself by strong convulsions and by loss of consciousness to signify it has entered into possession of the person destined to become a shaman.

[13 cont.]

With respect to the hysterical attacks so characteristic of shamans, there exists considerable confirmation of this in a fact which is connected with the death of these curers. Custom demands that when one of them dies, it is essential that their wake be kept for three consecutive days and nights, because as these attacks occur frequently and at times last for a considerable time, there is a fear that the shaman may not be really dead and that consequently he may be buried alive if the mourners do not wait for a reasonable time to see if he recovers.

3) A magic plant, tobacco, is involved in the making of a new shaman in two ways: (a) The aspiring shaman must chew it for several consecutive days in order to enter into a state of ecstasy and so provoke the absorption of the spirit by his person. One must remember that at the moment the initiate has an attack, a piece of tobacco or manilla is put into his mouth. When he recovers consciousness, he belches loudly because of the action of the tobacco, and these belches are considered to be canticles of praise and gratitude to the spirit which desires to reside in him. The establishment of relations between the spirit and the medicine-man aspirant by means of a magic plant, such as the tobacco we have referred to, is found also among the Conibo: "The apprentice shaman of the Conibo of the Ucayali receives his medical science from a spirit. To enter into communication with the latter, the shaman drinks a decoction of tobacco and smokes as much as he can in a hermetically sealed hut." (8) [Cited in French.]

8. Métraux. Op. cit., 204.

(b) The diviner must see in the different changes in the embers of the tobacco whether the individual whose future he foretells after an attack of illumination will become a true shaman or not. His verdict is final.

4) Dreams, or at least hallucinations, are decisive factors in the determination of the quality of shaman.

5) The vocation of shaman cannot be renounced. Better said, it does not depend upon the individual himself; once the symptoms have appeared and the diviner has given a favorable

[16 cont.]

*756 over, the young shaman [17] was secluded for two months in her home. She dedicated this period to practicing chewing tobacco, and the act of invoking the spirits, the way of curing the sick, bringing rainfall, "shamanizing," animals, keeping pestilence away, etc. The maraca and the crown (kiara, in Guajiro) were made by her during this seclusion, although they could have been bought or ordered to be made by others. At the end of this two *756 months' seclusion, it was essential, in order to terminate the ●787 young shaman's cycle of initiation into shamanism, to prepare 796 ten containers of corn chicha and to invite many Indians from different sections to be present at the true graduation of the initiate. That night, while the others danced and drank, the young shaman remained practicing her arts. It is common on these occasions for the spirit to approach the aspiring shaman and say, for example: "Go look for an animal of such-and-such characteristics (it describes the desired animal minutely in all its details) and kill it. If you disobey me you will faint, have an attack, and you will never become a shaman." The young initiate then passes on the order to her relatives, who must hasten to look for the animal described by the spirit and sacrifice it. When the celebration has ended, the spirit returns to tell the [301 young girl: "Hang up ten necklaces in your room so that I may 426] come down and help you." (These necklaces must be made of gold beads). The aspiring shaman acquires these necklaces with the help of her relatives and friends, even on loan, and hangs [783] them in her room so that she can "shamanize." The spirit, grateful for her ready obedience and for the offering, approaches her once again and says: "Now you will make a truly good [834] shaman." And it warns her: "Now you may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband."

*756 Exercising the profession. When all these rites and cere-787 monies preparatory to entering the way of life of the shaman have been complied with, the person chosen, as his protector spirit affirms, may then dedicate himself to that calling. The spirit itself has conferred such power. Better still, it has descended into the novice; it has entered his body to accompany him in every professional act, to communicate the arts indispensable or

[17 cont.]
carrying out his function as community curer, and witch so that he will be able to act with certainty in curing illnesses, in the propitiation of the rainfall indispensable for good harvests, as well as in his tasks of keeping away pestilences and epidemics which could decimate the people under his care.

As has been seen in the section treating the period of training, this is limited first of all to transmitting to the new shaman the most successful way of insuring that the spirit can reach him. His science in no manner implies that he possess knowledge relating to the medicinal value of plants, of animals, etc., but it does imply that the process of apprenticeship, or better said his science, [18] is based on the successful invocation of the spirit, which has the true wisdom, which is the only curer in reality, the all-powerful able to propitiate rain and cast out pestilences and epidemics and whose science is manifested through the medium of the medicine man whenever the spirit wishes to carry out its designs. The shaman by himself and for himself is worthless. He is an ordinary man, subject as are others to the evil influences of the spirits of sickness and death. His fundamental value rests in the absorption into himself of a powerful spirit which places him on a footing of equality with the spirits of the other world, and in many cases even on a superior one, when it enables him frequently to emerge triumphant in the cure of sickness.

One has to emphasize in the personality of the Guajiro shaman the fact that he has almost exclusively the function of making contact with the supernatural world, and it is by this means that he endeavors to effect the cure of his patients. He is partially or totally ignorant of medicine based on herbs, animals, parts of animals, or any other type of cure other than that exercised directly by the protector spirits that use him as their intermediary.

As will be seen in the corresponding chapters, the majority of child cures are effected by female diviners with the indicated methods, which are based on what is called participative or contaminant magic. Also, the herbs actually very few – which are used to cause abortion, to restrict the growth of the fetus,

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*1756 as he is only the spirit's intermediary in the matter of the
1755 negotiation between it and the patient and his relatives to free the sick man from its influence, the shaman must respond to all the demands that the spirit has made. If the sick man is cured, the shaman keeps all the gifts that were requested through him by the spirit that caused the sickness and those that his protector [21] spirit claimed for its part in the cure. If the treatment is not successful, it is usual for all gifts to be returned to the patient's relatives, although sometimes this is not done and the shaman takes possession of them, stating that they are sacred, that they belong to the spirits that intervened in the attempt at curing the sick man although this has not been successful.

Shamans state that when they are practicing their curing ceremonies, while they are endeavoring to wrest the patient's soul from its prison, they are carefully observing the sick man to determine whether his cure is possible or not. If it is obvious that it is not, they declare him past hope, after being well assured that the individual cannot be saved and after making sure that everything has been done to effect his cure. They also state
*1756 that it is quite common when they are engaged in the exercise
1755 of their functions for their spirits to chat freely with them, at
1787 which times they refer to events which are about to happen and to their own destiny in the other life, in other words, what the shaman will be doing as a spirit once he ultimately dies. It is common to hear a spirit say, while conversing with the shamin in trance, "When you die you will know a country where there are many towns you know not of, crossed by wide, blue rivers."

Before proceeding further we consider it of interest to call attention to these latter words which the shaman claims he hears from his protector spirit, as they represent, in a certain way, the idea of a special heaven for these curers, a notion of life beyond the tomb which we shall see in greater detail later and, above all, the image of that new life; towns...crossed by wide, blue rivers, an ideal as logical as any when one takes into account the geographical situation of La Guajira, a land in which rivers and ravines, or even minor arroyos, are practically unknown due to the winds that dominate the peninsula.

[22 cont.]
of the patient or of his family – then those attending are presented with a good portion of meat.

Shamanistic treatment of animals. When pestilence breaks out among a Guajiro Indian's animals, he has no other known recourse to repel it than to seek the services of a shaman. As he already knows in a way the accustomed ceremonial in such cases, he prepares days beforehand a sufficient quantity of corn chicha, which is used in the chicha-maya dances, and he invites a large group of women to come to the dance. He then calls in the shaman, who, once arrived on the scene, has all the animals collected and enclosed in a large corral. While this operation is being carried out, the shaman begins to prepare himself for the ceremony, inviting his protector spirit to cast out the pestilence, and dressing himself (or better said, undressing himself) in a neighboring hut as is customary for the ceremony of the cure of human beings, keeping on his loincloth if he is a man and her dress if a woman. He then places a crown of wool on his head and readies the maraca, which he keeps in his hand during the entire event. Following this, he enters the place where the animals are, goes in among them, and turns himself around in circles about them, continually shaking the maraca and spitting on their bodies the juice from the manilla he is continually chewing. During all this time, he intones his ritual invocatory chants, [23] which are different from those used for the cure of humans, and he never stops shaking the maraca. This operation generally lasts for several days and is only suspended for those moments when the shaman rests. When he considers that the evil spirits which have caused the pestilence have been successfully driven off, he suspends his activities and orders for the fiesta to begin, which is started by the sacrifice of an animal, the distribution of chicha to those present, and the dance. The animals are driven to the fields while numerous gunshots are fired (in older times arrows were shot off). These are intended to complete the work of the shaman in driving off the evil spirits of the disease.

Shamans' dreams. When a shaman dreams of a long trip through unknown territory, it is an evident sign that he is due to die. When the dream is over, he attempts through "shamanizing"

[23 cont.]

*756 787 to divine his future by means of a firebrand, and sees that it does not burn or blaze. His spirit has abandoned him and no longer comes at his call. Finally, the spirit descends to him and says, "This has happened to you because you did not obey me on such-and-such an occasion."

Up to now there are two clear examples of the relation between unknown lands and death in the case of the shaman. Let us recall the talks held between the shaman and his protector spirit during the ceremony for curing a sick person, in which the protector spirit describes to him a marvelous country crossed by wide, blue rivers as a dwelling place to enter after death. Now this same representation reappears in his dream, which implies a vision of the world beyond the tomb to which he will shortly go.

[755] If during a curing ceremony he should dream that at some time during the dance which he has demanded for the total rehabilitation of the sick man he sees a group of rich Indian women arrive mounted on horses, bringing with them in a pitcher a small quantity of water or rum with which they bathe the sick person and then blow on him at midnight, this means that the sick man in question will recover completely and will not have a relapse.

751 *756 787 At other times the shaman may dream that someone is going to be killed. To avert the danger he goes to the relatives of the person dreamed of to order them to perform a sacrifice or ceremony such as the following. They must bring a heifer of a certain color, slaughter it at dawn, and bathe in its blood the Indian on whom the tragedy is to fall according to the dream. To end the ceremony they must hold a chicha-maya dance. The Indian referred to must follow strictly the orders of the shaman [24] otherwise, there is no doubt that a tragedy will befall him, so the natives affirm. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice.")

There is a story, for example, of a female shaman who dreamed that she should "shamanize" an Indian woman with rum and hold a chicha-maya dance, or otherwise death would rapidly overtake her. The woman of the dream did not obey the orders of the shaman, and a few days later she had a quarrel with her [762] husband, who struck her, and, broken-hearted over her husband's action, she hung herself from a tree at midnight.

[24 cont.]

*n5C 787 Shamans' dreams are interpreted by themselves in accordance with the elements that occur in them. We shall see how they do so.

If they dream that they see a burro tied to a post, turning continuously about it until it falls to the ground, it signifies that someone — the shaman will determine who — is going to die.

If in a dream they see a very swollen current of water, it implies that an interclan war will break out in the near future. If they dream of someone's death, this means that they are going to kill an animal, or it is simply the announcement of the death of the shaman himself. If, on the other hand, the dream refers to the death of an animal, it is a sign that some known person will be attacked by a serious sickness.

When the shaman dreams that a person has been bitten by a snake, that individual will be wounded by a poisoned arrow (imára), but, if during the dream some other person should kill the snake, it is a sign that both men involved in the action will have trouble and both will be wounded by poisoned arrows. If [64] in the dream two jaguars (representative animals of the Uriana clan) leap on someone, this person should be forewarned to be cautious in his relations with the Uriana, as the men of the Uriana clan are going to kill him.

Dreaming of fire is evidence of the presence of sickness accompanied by fevers; to dream of rain water in great abundance is a sure indication that in La Guajira, without stating exactly where, an important wake will be held in the near future, that is, that a wealthy Indian or Indian woman of good economic position is going to die. To see a male goat killed during a dream is to know that a boy is to be killed; to see a steer being sacrificed is to learn that an adult is to be killed. When the dream is about a small burro that is tied to a hitching post and circles around it and later falls down, this implies the death of a poor Indian. When the animal is a horse that makes the same circle, it implies the death of a wealthy Indian. To dream of blood always means a coming death in the group. [25]

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It is not only the shamans' dreams which have the power of prediction among these Indians. Dreams of the Indians in general, whatever their social or economic position, are revelations of the future to which the others religiously pay attention. The Indians believe in these dreams with the same fervor with which they fear the dead and comply with every ceremony related to them. One may say without fear of error that the Guajiro believes that the individual, when he dreams, is in a superior position to when he is living his everyday waking life. His spirit has become detached from his body; it is free to roam, and for this reason it can get into communication with those other spirits which are able to transmit future events.

The great value of the shaman's dreams stems from the fact that they are commensurate not only with his personal spirit but also with his protector spirit which uses him as a medium to foretell the future and communicate the events that will develop in a future time, showing the shaman at the same time what means to employ to overcome those possible evil developments already revealed to him in his dreams.

Protector spirits of the shamans. Every shaman has a set number of spirits that assist him in his magic practices and whose role is to counsel him while he is carrying out the functions of his office. For example, they tell him: "Suck there; give him such a herb; and as payment for my advice make me a gift of such-and-such value without loss of time." This matter of a gift, as we have already seen, is important because if it is not strictly complied with, the spirit leaves the shaman and will not come to his aid again. It is very difficult for him to regain its favor so that it will return and collaborate with him. If, however, the gift is made in full compliance with the spirit's wishes, it gives immediate and, in many cases, efficacious assistance with great pleasure. Besides all this, when the shaman has enemies he also receives advice from his spirits who tell him: " 'Shamanize' a great deal and every day because you have enemies and are in danger. Do it frequently so that the evil may disappear just as the rains do in summer."

Some shamans have as many as seven such spirits, and each one is called by a special canticle. Mareiwa (18), for example,

18. This spirit, considered as the

*756 776 784

[25 cont.]

universal god of the Guajiro Indians is none other than the protector divinity of rainfall and the propitiator of the harvests.

is invoked by a singular chant known by the name of fumayule, and wanurú, the spirit of sickness and of death by that of jirairay. The latter is the spirit that demands [26] offerings, the one that interposes himself in cases of sickness, impeding their cure, for it never wants to lose its hold on the sick person's soul it has imprisoned, so causing the illness. It is also the one which discusses with the shaman's protector spirits and the shaman himself the handing back of the patient's soul so that he can recover his lost health. We deem it necessary to make it clear that all the [775] spirits of the dead are named wanurú; for this reason their number is immense. The only difference that we have been able to establish between the wanurú and the shaman's protector spirits lies, in our opinion, in the fact that the latter are the spirits of shamans who have died but who wish to keep on carrying out their functions through others after death. Our statement is confirmed by Professor Métraux, who, quoting Tessman, affirms: "The Campa and Amahuaca medicine men claim to receive their knowledge from some shaman, living or dead. Either the soul makes the advances and visits its pupil in a dream, or the novice, intoxicated with ayahuasca, sends his other self among the spirits to receive teaching." (19) [Cited in French.]

19. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.

And further along he states: "The auxiliary spirits can be of different kinds. Among the Taulipáng and the Roucouyenne [Rucuyen]" -- according to Koch Grünberg -- "they are the souls of former shamans, or spirits of plants or animals." And later: "The distinction between the two types of Bororo shamans is mainly based on the different origin of the spirits from which they derive their power. The shamans called bari are possessed by bope, ... which are either spirits of nature or souls of dead

[27 cont.]
*756 turpirawa, muchirawai, males; and anapaura, uríwatana, waré-
775 ké-narú, waiwána, and parárijuna, females.
776 The common spirit of sickness and death, wanurú, in its
malignant sense, can be possessed by a shaman, but its possession
[755] implies dangers as because of it the shaman can become insane,
foolish, or paralytic. It is such an aggressive, haughty, and hate-
ful spirit that, when it turns against a shaman, does so so vin-
dictively that he is compelled to ask all the other spirits to aid
him against the jirairay or wanarú.

But shamans do not know the origin of the spirits in the majority of cases. They do not know from where they come, only that they come from an unknown place, dressed like arijuna (civilizados). They are wanurú that assist them in the struggle against sickness, which is also called wanurú. The personal spirit of the shaman, as we have said, does not intervene directly in the healing. It is those other spirits, the ones that have taken possession of him ever since he was initiated into the magic arts, which do so. His personal spirit does not have a special name, nor does the personal spirit of any of the Indians. Only on the shaman's death does his spirit take the common name wanurú and a special one if he has been a very outstanding curer.

In general terms, two other classes of spirits exist: that of the shaman himself, of which we have already spoken, and that of the diviner. These two spirits, however, can be absorbed by one person, but this absorption requires two special preparations, one for each activity. The more common procedure is for the shaman to be a diviner also, as this will help him considerably in carrying out his functions, for, on being [28] called to accomplish a cure, he can by means of his prophetic art consult with the firebrand or the tobacco (Cf. "Magic and Medicine") and find out if the sick person in question will recover. In accordance with the results of his findings, he will or will not try to cure him.

114 Referring to prophecy, Uricoechea in his introduction to
●767 Celedón's Guajiro Grammar refutes — we do not know on what
authority — the statement of Ensign de la Rosa when the latter
states that the Indians divine by means of tobacco, and says:

[28 cont.]

114 787 "Shamans still augur by the direction of smoke, not by smoking tobacco as de la Rosa tells us, but by lighting a small faggot of firewood, tinder, or cotton." (23) But neither the one nor the

[113]

23. Celedón, Rafael. Gramática, Catecismo i Vocabulario de la lengua guajira. Introduccion. [Grammar, Catechism, and Vocabulary of the Guajiro Language. Introduction], p. 25.

other is totally mistaken since, as we have already seen and will note again later, the two systems, divination by means of the firebrand or by tobacco, are actually employed in La Guajira.

*756 775 776 With respect to the relations between the shaman and his protector spirits in general, Métraux affirms: "The relations between the shaman and his familiar spirit have been fully analyzed by Barrere: 'Every piaye claims to have a genie, or rather a familiar demon, with which he has a close relationship, and by its intervention he carries out his wishes. This supposed genie is not always so submissive that it does not sometimes get away when it thinks it opportune, escaping to accomplish all the evil it can against the Indians, after which it will return to its abode. The main use of this genie is to assist the piayes either to chase out demons or to carry out some revenge, according to their will, and to kill whatever Indians they see fit, as their power extends equally to heal illnesses or to bring them on those on whom they wish to take revenge.'" (24) [Cited in French.]

24. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 212.

*756 Taboos of the shamans. Shamans are obliged to observe most strictly a series of taboos, related chiefly to sex, to nutrition in general, and to objects they receive in payment for curing sick persons or animals. We shall describe each one of these separately.

[28 cont.]

K756 834 833 Referring to the sexual aspect, we have the following facts: 1) a woman of licentious habits can never get to exercise the office of shaman; the spirit would never take up residence within her; 2) the unmarried woman who is initiated into the profession may have sexual relations only when she marries in accordance with established rites, but with certain limitations. [29] She may cohabit with her husband, and exclusively with him, in spite of the phrases used by the spirit at the time of initiation, "You may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband," but she must carry out the sexual act quickly and get up from the matrimonial hammock as soon as it is finished; for if not, they will see in the doorway of their habitation a shadow, in appearance like a civilizado, who will speak into her ear saying: "I do not like your sleeping with your husband because you do not belong to him. You are mine, you are my loved one." The woman therefore must perform coitus as hurriedly as if she were committing a crime.

K756 842 When a woman shaman marries, her spirit advises her as follows: "So that you may not have children, since you are always with your husband in spite of my prohibition, put skeins of wool on your wrists and on your ankles and around your waist like a sirapo [loincloth], and tie a piece of onion to the wool." The Indian woman who related this said that she had obeyed the spirit's instructions in every detail, and she had never had any more children. The spirit demanded a gold necklace from her as recompense for its counsel.

K756 834 776 767 Another female shaman with whom we had the opportunity to converse recounted the following to us: When she married, the spirit told her that it cared for her no longer. When she inquired the cause of this, the spirit replied that it was due to the fact that after having been with her husband, she had a smell of male goat, an odor which it did not like. The shaman explained to the spirit that she had married because her parents had sold her. The spirit was quite angered with her and had no wish to return to inspire her; it did not want her to marry because she belonged to it and not to anyone else. Finally it agreed to the formula that she might cohabit with her husband but must not linger over the sexual act.

[29 cont.]

*756 633 834 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties. [187]

*756 693 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 776 944 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 841 843 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will become worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 834 [595] In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 262 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[31 cont.]

753 If the shaman's illness and the announcement of his death
755 are provoked by the displeasure of his protector spirit, there
*756 generally is no possibility of calling in another shaman to carry
776 out the ceremonies of curing. The illness of the shaman more than being his alone is an illness of the protector spirit; it is thus different from all other illnesses known to the natives. The shaman himself cannot help; he does not know how to apply the remedies he may have used in similar cases. He only, and this on few occasions, applies hot water to his chest. At other times the spirit may have pity on him and may come and recommend some special remedy to him, indicating at the same time where he can obtain it. The sick shaman then takes the remedy, and his sickness is immediately alleviated.

*756 On the death of a shaman it is obligatory to hold a wake
766 for at least three consecutive days, because the attacks which shamans have ("states of ecstasy") are so frequent and on occasion prolonged for a considerable time, that there is the possibility that he may not be really dead. The natives, then, do not wish to give a shaman burial until they are convinced of his death. There is also the belief that when such persons die they do not follow the same cycle as other mortals, since their bodies do not become hard and stiff but remain soft and lax, as if they were only sleeping. At the conclusion of these three obligatory days of the wake, they carry him away for burial. They wash the body and fasten his shroud as they do for others. But his crown, his maraca, and all his clothes are first broken and torn and later buried in a special place in the woods, or are thrown away in a lonely place. They must not place these objects with him in his grave [32] because the spirit of the dead shaman would return, very angry with the persons who had done such a thing, and would punish their disrespect in some form or another.

*756 The dead shaman's spirit wanders everywhere like all other
775 spirits, it goes to the place where his body lived, to places well
787 known to it, but it is always accompanied by its protector spirit, from which it will never become separated. Both the protector spirit and its protege may descend on a new shaman in order to assist him. This is probably the explanation of the possession of

[32 cont.]
various spirits by one person. They are several spirits associated by this post-mortem relationship which act inseparably in their function as counselors.

It is also very probable that the protector spirits invoked by the shamans may not be anything other than the spirits of famous deceased shamans of times past to whom they turn for aid. In this case they would only have to make a change of name due to the taboo relating to the use of the name of dead persons, which we shall explain in the corresponding chapter.

• • •

Before continuing with our subject, we wish to make certain clarifying statements with respect to the presence of women in the science of magic in La Guajira and in general among primitive Americans. We have already seen that among the Guajiro Indians the only basic condition required to become a shaman is what we have called the "revelation," accompanied by the symptoms described earlier. The sex, age, or economic and social position of the person is not taken into account in any way. It is, as we have stated, only necessary to be of a hysterical nature. However, Métraux in his work which we have repeatedly quoted states:

"In tropical South America the profession of shaman appears to be as a general rule reserved for the masculine sex. One does find, however, among many writers reference to women shamans." (26) [Cited in French.] According to these authors

26. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 198.

quoted by Métraux, (Rochefort, Roth, Koch Grünberg, and Ives d'Evreux), women shamans are to be found in the Antilles and among the Tupinamba, Taulipang, Arekuna [Arekena], and Macushi [Macusi].

With reference especially to women shamans in La Guajira, Métraux maintains the following, based on Perrullo's The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River: "Among the Arawak tribe of the Guajiro

[35 cont.]

756 their protection to him. When he is performing the ceremonial
775 indispensable for freeing the body and soul of a patient from the clutches of the wanurú, he represents nothing but the role of intermediary between two worlds and especially between two classes of spirits -- that of his protector who wishes to save the sick person and that of others now dead who desire above all
[753] that the evil they have caused the person of the sick man should continue until it ends with his death, so that in this way they can avenge an offense received, or simply satisfy some capricious wish of their own, as beings capable -- because of their position as inhabitants of another world, a position superior to everything we can imagine in this mortal universe -- of doing any harm they wish.

755 This position of intermediary is clearly shown in the cere-
756 mony of curing. The communication must be made through definite material objects which take on in their turn the character of untouchables: the maraca, the crown, the tassels which contain a representation of goat dung, and the tobacco or manilla, objects which cannot be used by others but only by shamans during their moments of trance or invocation; the solitude to which the curer submits himself during his invocations, with only his patient present, for fear that the protector spirit might disappear and refuse to give aid in the cure which the shaman is trying to effect; his protector spirit's demands for certain objects to satisfy the voracity of harmful spirits or its own, demands which must be complied with to the letter; the ritual chants which relate the different moments of agreement between the harmful spirits and that of the shaman; the sacrifice of an animal determined by the spirit -- male goat, sheep, etc. -- as recompense for the spirit's favors; and lastly, the expressed prohibition that rests on the shaman not to eat or use the [36] animals or objects that he receives in payment for his cures. All these are facts which clearly indicate that the shaman is no more than an intermediary or an earthly representative of the spirits of good, or even of evil, and above all of the dead shamans who wish to continue exerting their beneficial influence on the group to which they belonged in life.

771 This function of communication with the spirits, annexed
772 to, and inseparable from, the personality of the medicine man,
787

[36 cont.]

171 is universal. It is, so to speak, the ultimate end of his mission
*756 in the community. Professor Pinto reaffirms it when, speaking
● 187 of the Tupinambá pagé, he writes as follows. "Another of the functions or callings of the pagé was to communicate with the spirits or with the devil.... Frequently, as Nóbrega gives us to understand, by means of the maraca ...." And further on: "Naturally, the power to communicate with the spirits raised the pagé to the category of xamá. The xamá in Herbert Kõnig's exact definition is characterized by his faculty of speaking with the spirits, especially, in his moments of trance or ecstasy. Or, as Robert H. Lowie explains, the xamá is a kind of "medium" who possesses the gift of relating himself with the supernatural and serving as its interpreter." (31) [Cited in French.]

[113]

31. Pinto Recife, Esteban. La extraña figura del Pagé Tupinambá [The Strange Figure of the Tupinambá Pagé], pp. 323-324.

171 Our contention regarding the involuntary nature of the pro-
*756 fession of shaman, and by the same token its irrenouncibility, is sustained by this report which Métraux has taken from Nimuendajú with reference to the Bororó: "The Bororó who is called upon to become a bari (medicine man) receives a mysterious order to deliver himself up in the bush, where the spirit will manifest itself to him in the form of a monkey or a water hog and will demand his submission. As a sign of acquiescence, he will give up his bow and arrows. His head will whirl; a thousand colors will dance before his eyes; he has become a bari." (32) [Cited in French.]

32. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203. Italics are ours.

*756 Apart from this domination to which the spirits subject the
828 shaman, converting him into a creature at the service of their wishes, there is another factor, perhaps more important in its external form than the previous ones and one that makes us think more of the double life of the shaman: This is his frequent attacks,

[47 cont.]
character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete disappearance (according to all sources) of the Kusina Indians in the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy; he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

[53 cont.]

[Lectures given at the National Ethnological Institute]. Bogotá, 1942.

the two groups at some period of their history, — we cannot say if before or after the Conquest, is based on the presence of certain material cultural techniques of the Arwako [Arhuaco] Indians in the Guajiro group.

Let us now analyze carefully and separately each one of these factors:

Medicine practiced by the shaman. In chapter II of this study, we referred to the shaman's curative methods which are effected through their magic communication with the spirits. These spirits supply the instructions required for the ceremonies and processes that are to be practiced to effect the cures of illnesses caused by the wanurú which have a sick person in their power. We again refer the reader then to chapter II.

Medicine by divination. Before entering fully into this subject, we feel obliged to clarify somewhat the diviner's position in La Guajira and to learn something more, if only superficially, of the processes of divination.

There are certain men and women capable of seeing secret events that have occurred or foreseeing those that will occur. For this they employ different objects; some use a machete (an item of acculturation), and by closely studying its edge they divine, for example, what has happened at the site of a robbery and where the stolen objects will be found. Others make use of burning tobacco and others, finally, of a burning firebrand.

In this aspect of divination the world of the spirits plays as great a role as it does in general in all the themes of magic, since the chain of events in the case of the divination of a robbery, for example, is that the spirit of the diviner disengages itself from his body and goes in search of the lost articles, following the track of the thief until it finds the hiding place and consequently the stolen goods, returning then to the body of the diviner to communicate the result to him so that he can, on his part, transmit the information to the party who has come to consult him. [54]

[54]

*756 787 The shaman also has this power of divination at times, and he, as well as the others, can foretell deaths and other events that will happen. The shaman by reason of his known inherent powers inspires more faith in his prophesies, especially as these practically never fail to be fulfilled.

*756 791 One of the functions of a diviner who divines by means of tobacco, for example, is to decide at a gathering of shamans to which he is expressly summoned whether a certain individual shows definite symptoms that he will become the host of a spirit of the same class as their own. This diviner generally is not a graduate shaman but is a man or woman of great experience in this type of "science." The diviner places the tobacco or manilla, in his mouth and a burning firebrand in his right hand, which he moves up and down while he discourses; he watches it fixedly and gives his verdict in accordance with the variations he notes in the burning stick. This verdict is considered final.

755 *756 787 Shamans in some cases learn the art of divination by the use of a glowing brand to find out, in the event of their being called to cure a sick man, whether they should take the case or not. *For the test they take a firebrand; they call on the spirit* to come to their aid. *They remain with the brand in hand,* without blowing on it, and carefully observe the different changes which occur in it through the action of the flame, and from these changes they deduce what will happen. If the firebrand goes out while they are watching it, it means that the sick man is going to die, and hence his presence will not be required.

787 The ceremony of divination by means of fire must be carried out at night never by day. There are diviners who make use of a burning reed or cane for this ceremony. They hold it in the hand and do not take their eyes off it, paying close attention to the changes in the flame, if any, in the blazing up or dying down of the ember, and any other variations they may see. According to all these details, they decide on what divinatory acts are called for and what should be used to locate lost objects or stolen animals. The diviner endeavors to trace the process of the actual robbery in the flame and after that the route the lost object took until he discovers its whereabouts, so that he can state where it is and who was the thief.

[54 cont.]

787 But what is most interesting is that each person in La Guajira can learn the signs that determine divination according to the different methods that make this art of prophecy possible, and make use of them in order to help anyone who may ask his aid or to satisfy his own curiosity about many things he desires to know. The women are especially greatly addicted to divinatory arts [55] to find out from a distance what their absent husbands are doing or what may happen to them when they are far from home. The process is as follows: First the tobacco is lit, then a special prayer is recited asking that what is occurring, or is going to happen, be revealed. Then the woman starts to suck on the tobacco and to observe most carefully every change in the tobacco once it begins to burn. For example, if it emits sparks this means that the person about whom the divinatory enquiry is being made is going to receive money; if it opens in the middle it means that the husband is ill; and he is gravely ill if the ash goes black. Other characteristic signs show when the husband has taken another woman and when he is with her.

This circumstance, that any ordinary person can learn the known methods of foretelling the future, is one which interests us at the moment because it appertains to the aspect of medicine we are investigating. These diviners, usually women, are the ones who, in these cases, decide what kind of illness [765 753] is attacking the patient -- a child -- and how it was contracted, (generally by direct contamination through the mother during her pregnancy from an animal that had touched food eaten by her). By the same token, they decide what curing methods must be followed to free the patient from the illness from which he suffers.

To clarify this point we quote several pertinent examples taken from our field notes.

753 825 It is said in Nazaret, and it is a belief extensively accepted all over the peninsula, that a bird called noche, which is accustomed to withdraw to the Sierra de Macuira during its hours of sleep, is harmful to the native inhabitants when it flies over their homes, as it is a carrier of bronchitis, which it spills on to the roofs of their houses, from whence the children of the home pick up the contagion and die.

[79 cont.]

764 before arriving at the abode of the spirits, a route that would be
765 most difficult, practically impossible, to follow if he had to set off from some place that was not the special cemetery of his group; and above all he fears that all the indispensable ceremonies required for the success of his post-mortem travels may not be complied with.

775 These facts show us their belief in the active influence, the continuity of life of the individual after his physical death in a spiritual form. It is precisely this belief in life beyond the grave which shapes, directs, and controls the activities in the life of the Guajiro in innumerable circumstances, as we have previously noted. To corroborate this, we single out some of this behavior which is directly connected with the spirit of the dead.

Return of the dead. One of the stories we obtained during the expedition to La Guajira was recounted by the same informant who supplied the data about the sacrifice of children in the making of magic arrows; she stated that when she was a little girl she went one morning with her sister, also small like herself, to look for some [80] burros that had been lost. They searched all through the day without finding them and at last decided to take the road back home. It was already late when the children turned their steps toward their home, from which they had traveled a considerable distance. The sun was already setting when in a small stream bordering on the forest they saw their grandmother, who had died some time previously. According to the story, the old lady was bathing and was accompanied by a boy. The girls, in order to find out if it really was their dead grandmother, asked her several questions to which she did not reply, an evident sign that it was her spirit that had recovered
775 its bodily form. (One can infer from this part of the story a
787 characteristic of the spirits of the dead, which is their inability to communicate directly with living people by speech; these communications only occur in the Indian's dreams when his spirit, also freed from his body, can take advantage of this condition.) The girls returned home and asked why they had seen their grandmother if she was dead. The reply they got was

[80 cont.]
775 787 the following: "Because there are going to be more deaths in the house."

In this story we can appreciate three very clear facts in relation to the dead: 1) that these can return to the bodily form they had when living ; 2) that their presence is an omen of coming misfortune as it announces the death of some member of the family, especially of the closest relatives; 3) that, as we have already noted, the spirit is incapable of communicating with the living by word of mouth.

158 775 787 The blind belief that the Guajiro have in the apparition of the dead in bodily form is due, according to the investigations that we were able to make in part, to a psychological phenomenon: It is clearly seen in La Guajira, and the natives so recognize it, that people do not want to look at a dead person's face. This is owing to the fact that this face will be engraved very deeply on their memory, to the point that when the individual who has looked at it is traveling by road at night, or when it is getting dark, or when he is alone at night in his dwelling and worried, on opening his eyes he will clearly see the dead man in the form he had when alive. We therefore believe that what happens in this case is that the individual is obsessed with and has firmly strongly impressed on his mind the decomposing face of the dead person that, as we have said, stays strongly impressed on his memory through this same act. This observation of ours does not apply exclusively to Guajiro [171] Indians or to other primitives. It is also very common among the town people of practically all the regions of Colombia which we have visited. The psychic phenomenon of obsession and then the almost perfect reconstruction of the image engraved on the memory is a common occurrence among them. But if [81] we add to this the Guajiro's collection of beliefs related to the dead and the fear of the apparition of spirits, which are always harbingers of misfortune (death, sickness, misfortune in general), we can understand how a person so obsessed reconstructs in his nervous state the previously impressed image and, in his imagination, gives it a body. The effects of fear are then translated into a seemingly real image of the dead person, and the

[81 cont.]
158 individual is not capable of distinguishing between the merely
775 fictitious, the imaginary and the real. To him, the image so
787 faithfully rebuilt in his imagination is as real as the living image of the deceased. The explanation of the phenomenon, then, according to his mentality, is that the dead man has appeared before him for some reason or other.

775 This fact is complicated in addition by the belief that every dead person "retraces his steps," that is, he treads again all the paths he traveled during his life; he returns to places where he had been at different times; this is why he is "felt" very often. Many times the individual feels the presence of the dead, even if he does not see it. This Guajiro belief is
[171] also found to be very prevalent in all Colombian folklore. The
538 phenomenon that the Colombian people call "retracing his steps" corresponds exactly to the Guajiro version which we have just transcribed. Of course, according to popular legends, the dead "retrace their steps" when they are dying or a few
[787] moments or even days before their death. To hear strange noises without apparent logical explanation, to see shadows, etc., are for the people evident signs that one of their relatives or friends, or even some person who in the past has lived in these parts, is dying or will die from one moment to the next. For the same reason they avoid walking alone along certain places when they know that someone who has lived there is close to death's door.

Degrees of danger in spirits. The Guajiro murderer suffers
682 a double punishment; first, the claim for compensation payment
775 for blood presented by the dead man's relatives, which involves his own death if he does not pay the sum agreed on; and second, the constant presence of the dead man's spirit, which never leaves him. For this reason, the murderer cannot enter a home where there are small children because the spirit of the dead man follows him, will climb over them, squeeze them, and make them
[763] cry. If the children are sick, the murderer's presence is even more dangerous because the spirit will rapidly cause their death. If they are well they usually become ill. [82]

The death of a fellow being becomes a tremendous ob-
[753] session with the Guajiro; the murderer is convinced that the dead man's spirit follows him everywhere. When he is ill he has

[84 cont.]

682 family groups — that of the murderer and that of the victim — 775 is it considered necessary for the murderer to flee to distant parts to avoid the vengeance of his enemies falling on him. We have here, then, a repetition, different in form but essentially the same, of a disguise to avoid the presence of the spirits, [171] which the Witoto practice either in the father, the mother, or the child, with the object of protecting the child from the malevolent action of the spirits (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine").

• 787 Presence of the dead in dreams. The dead person can also 769 reappear through the medium of dreams. He is then as real, as alive, to the Indian as in his apparition during the day or night in a corporeal or other form, such as we have shown throughout this chapter. For this reason, when an Indian dreams of one of his dead relatives on any occasion, he believes that this relative is in need of something in his other world and requires [85] special help from his relatives. He therefore assembles the dead man's closest relatives, and they all go as soon as possible to the grave of the person who appeared in the dream and take a little food with them. After some time passed in lamentation over the tomb, they unwrap the meat expressly taken there for the occasion and seat themselves on the grave, prepared to eat, saying as they begin eating, "Come then, let us all eat together." To avoid the appearance of spirits through dreams, it is a general custom to visit the graves of the dead at times of full moon [luna clara], at night, and on the anniversary of the person's death.

The explanation of the spirit's appearance in a dream can be found very clearly expressed in the words we quote from Dr. Born and according to which "...from experiences in the world of dreams he derived the belief in the soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death." According to this, in the dream communication is established between two spirits, between two souls, as Dr. Born says: that of the dead, already definitively free of its human wrapping: and that of the living, momentarily free of its body by the effects of the dream.

766 Burial and children. When the first-born of a Guajiro marriage dies before other children are born, they place it in an urn

[103 cont.]

787 This charm is personal and nontransferable. If a person who is not the legitimate owner should touch it, he has to submit to the diet just described or his punishment will be madness; his character will be changed, he will have fits of anger without apparent or justified cause, he will suffer from permanent nervousness, and his mind will be come deranged. However, he may look at the charm with the owner's permission without suffering any change in personality. It is useless to steal the charm as it will give no aid to the thief but will remain faithful to its original owner and will most likely cause harm to him who may have appropriated it illegally.

As do nearly all charms, it has its special covering and is kept together with achiote in three successive bags which have been knitted from wool by [104] the same Indian woman who inspired the charm with its magic power. As a matter of fact it is not known of what the charm is made because it cannot be completely uncovered.

●787 What is the quality it possesses that makes it so valuable?
789 The native belief insists that when the owner sleeps it makes him dream what is going to happen to him down to the most insignificant detail. During his sleep it tells him who his hidden enemies are, what people wish to do him harm, where they will spy on him when he is traveling on the road, what difficulties he will encounter in the negotiation of an agreement, what words he should use, etc. The owner of the charm wakes up with a start, gets up immediately, quickly finds the charm, and taps it lightly, which averts all evil.

According to the Indians, the charm is like another person that is in every place where its owner is not; it knows the intentions of other people, deduces what is going to happen, and warns its master.

226 Charm for the sea. In Riohacha one of the Indians who
751 assisted in fishing and the cartage of cargo to and from the ship at the wharf wore, hanging from his neck, a piece of bark of a tree the species of which we could not determine. When we asked him the reason for the charm, he explained that he wore it to safeguard himself from the waves of the sea, that is, to avoid being drowned if some day he should fall into the sea.

[109 cont.]

551 [C8K] say his name and not be a close relative must pay a sum decided upon [110] as reparation for this violation of the social norm. Usually they demand in payment the delivery of several head of livestock, necklaces, and other adornments. If the sum [C2R] agreed upon by the arbitrators is not paid in due time, war may be provoked.

551 553 When a girl is born, the father gives her a name which may be the same as her mother's, that of her maternal grandmother, or, secondarily, that of a favorite aunt or cousin, or that of a much appreciated friend. But besides this name which is derived from family sentiment or a friendship of the father's, the girl will also have various capricious nicknames which do not necessarily correspond to natural qualities or defects in her psycho-physical personality or some special circumstance at her birth but can be any arbitrary name which may occur to her father, her mother, or her brothers [and sisters? hermanos] on the spur of the moment. So the girl may grow up with several nicknames, of which in the long run one will win out and be generally adopted.

But when the girl becomes a young woman, when her first menstruation appears and her complicated initiation ceremony is carried out, the changes she experiences in her biological functioning and her social standing also extend to the aspect of her name, and she will no longer wish to respond to the nickname by which she has been called ever since her infancy, but only to her new name, by which she will be known until her death.

551 From the above we note that in La Guajira a person's name is not used among the natives except in a very restricted sense, but on the other hand, the nickname which a person acquires when a child through the intervention of his parents or brothers [siblings? hermanos], is the true, the universal name, which may be used by all his countrymen up to the time of his death.

● 787 825 Omens. When a mountain cat [cougar] cries repeatedly throughout the night near the house and remains a long time prowling about, it implies the approaching death of an inmate of that house. The behavior of this animal can become maddening, as at times it will repeat its patrolling and mewing for several

[110 cont.]

787 nights and even can persist in this habit for years.

805 If on successive occations a person should meet a bat when on the road, it is a sign that he will receive bad news on the way or on arriving at his destination, or that there will be a mishap at the place toward which he is traveling. Furthermore, if during the night he frequently hears a bat, death is approaching some person he knows.

In the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" we have already seen the relationship existing between snakes and pregnant women and a series of facts which place [111] ophidians in an exceptional position in Guajiro mentality, by virtue of the fear that this reptile inspires in the individual through the number of properties, usually malevolent, which are attributed to it. To this we must add the quality of animal omen, because if at dusk or during the night they see the trail of a snake without being able to capture it, the first person who sees the snake itself the following day will suffer the loss of a member of his family or some other misfortune. This happened, they say, to one of the girls in the Nazaret orphanage. One evening they found signs on the patio of the passing of a large snake. The girls looked diligently for it everywhere without being able to locate it, as they were convinced that if they did not find it that night, the first person to see it the following day would have trouble. As a matter of fact, the girls affirmed, the girl who encountered it suffered the loss of her grandmother within a short time.

But in this matter of what we have called omens, it is the birds that have the greatest influence. We could therefore speak of birds of good or bad omen in La Guajira. These birds announce future events according to the position they take up in certain circumstances, which the Guajiro interprets in his own way in accord with certain traditions and fixed rules, which their actions give us to understand. These do not constitute, so to speak, a rigid code, a pre-established and fixed law, but are rather to a certain extent products of chance and the native's imagination, who seeks in all the accompanying circumstances, logical or no, the explanation of any phenomenon. Whatever happens to him in his life is never without reason or cause.

[111 cont.]

787 825 Someone must know about these happenings and will communicate them at the proper time. From this they derive their belief in the announcement of coming events, which they interpret by associations related to certain animals in certain circumstances.

For example, the bird which we call the woodpecker announces to the wayfarer by its song that in the place that he is going to a misfortune will occur, there will be a drunken brawl, or simply that evil spirits live there.

We have already seen the malevolent action of the nocturnal bird which appears frequently in Nazaret and sleeps in the [753] Sierra de Jarara. The Indians say that it flies over the houses during the night and in its droppings spreads the germs of bronchitis which are absorbed by children who contract the illness and die.

There is also a bird known in the peninsula named cucarachero ["cockroach bird"] — different from the one in the interior of the same name — which wanders over the roofs of houses searching for beetles, scorpions, and small lizards, etc. It makes its nest in trees near houses and frequently sings [112] when it is brooding or raising its young. It is known in La Guajira by the name of waimpirai. This bird and the one called uteté announce by their song when visitors will be coming to the house. The belief exists that these two birds hurry those who are on a journey and counsel them to be speedy so that no misfortune may befall them en route.

Another bird, the one popularly known by the name of alcaraván [bittern] and in Guajiro by that of karré, likes to walk about near the native houses and to go inside them. If at nightfall it should be going about in the vicinity of the houses, the Indians believe it announces the death of someone in the family. The natives' fear of this bird becomes acute when it is not content to move around the house or go inside, but goes into the cooking area and approaches the hearth, because in this case death will very soon carry off one of the members of that home. The creature suffers the consequences of the natives' fear since they drive it from the house with stones and blows.

[112 cont.]

787 825 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to upset him on the road.

If at nightfall the long-drawn out song of the waimpirai is heard, it is an indication that there will be a war between two important clans, or extended families. They say in La Guajira that on a certain occasion, after this omen had occurred, a struggle between two families broke out and 20 members of the Uriyú clan had to take refuge in the convent of Nazaret, defeated by their adversaries who were hunting them down wishing to kill them.

797 628

When a hen cackles at daybreak there will surely be a death in the house, particularly when the cackling is repeated on three consecutive days.

312 138 183 Natural phenomena in magic. The most important natural phenomenon for the Guajiro is rain, the essential fount for his agriculture and stock grazing and the basis of his present-day economic organization. It is not strange that this is so because if for every community and for living beings in general water is an indispensable element and if many of the divinities and spirits of the primitive Americans center around it, for the Guajiro it is infinitely more essential if we take into consideration the geographical milieu in which he lives and to which we have referred, perhaps insistently, in this work as we consider it of vital importance (cf. "Introduction"). In the whole area there is no river or stream of importance. The soil has a maximum permeability and has to withstand high temperatures; [113] and as the Guajiro have no practical knowledge of the conservation and distribution of rain water, they always live dependent on the winter season for sowing their crops. For this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa and Wanurú," or notions of good and evil, we will confine ourselves in this section to noting some magic acts related to rainfall and to other natural phenomena.

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789 756 The intervention of the shaman, which we have lost sight of since the second chapter when we described at length his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in

[114 cont.]

phenomenon -- organize, as in the case of the eclipses, noisy groups who shout aloud, [115] begging the lightning to withdraw, to go to the sea and make the storms that frequently lash the coasts of Cabo de la Vela and Chichibacoa.

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When the Guajiro is on the sea and, as frequently happens, his vessel becomes becalmed, he calls on the breeze to return by means of a long-drawn-out whistle, trying every pitch until he gets it to return.

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Finally, if at dusk a considerably large, vividly red cloud appears, the native believes that it announces that there will shortly be a war between two clan organizations.

Magic and dreams. The Guajiro Indian looks upon his dreams as revelations of the future. His mentality does not conceive them as products of the past or as being associated with certain psycho-physiological phenomena, but as previews of his life, as a way of seeing future happenings, as revelations made by the spirits of strange things that will happen to the person dreaming or to those that appear in the dream. These dreams are not, therefore, private personal phenomena but social events, as what they contain affects the entire community or parts of it and determines many of their individual or collective acts, since the Guajiro is always strongly linked to this phenomenon as he is to all other magic; and in this respect he is a determinist. His life, his social and economic activities, his relations with his geographic surroundings, his illnesses, birth and death are determined by this play of magic interactions. It does not matter that the phenomena are not always repeated in the same way or that on many occasions the events expected to occur as the consequence of a certain concatenation of magic causes do not take place or do so in a different or even contrary manner to that expected; the native does not waver in his belief in that invisible but active force. He continues to be attached to it, as

[115 cont.]

813 to a faith or a creed. And only the presence of distinct elements in his civilization and contact with other human groups more advanced and rational (in our sense) is undermining the power of this force which, in great part, constitutes, regulates, and governs his way of life.

21 787 In this study which we present we are not interested in dreams as events tied to the psychic life of the individual, nor are we going to try to interpret them. [116] This is part of another work which will be presented later by other investigators. The phenomenon as such interests us, especially the interpretation the native gives his dreams as revelations of future events, of forthcoming happenings related to his own life, to that of his fellow beings in particular, or to the community in general. In other words, the magic act that denotes, as Thorndike states, "a mental state," a way of feeling and thinking, a method of explaining effects whose causes are unknown. We will, therefore, simply describe a series of dreams and their meaning to the native, without comments except in cases where we consider it strictly necessary in order to clarify certain situations or special institutions to which they refer.

787 But before dealing with this matter, we shall first make a subdivision of dreams into two categories, in accordance with their content, which we may describe as the real and the symbolic. The first would appear to be the work of special spirits who reveal themselves through the medium of dreams to give their assistance and protection to an individual in an almost direct manner. These dreams are so clear, so explicit, that they require no interpretation. They are like a conversation between the individual and the spirit in which the latter tells the former all the things he must do; for example, the herbs that he must take to cure a certain illness from which he is suffering. On the other hand, the other dreams do not have this direct relation but are detached from active reality. Their interpretation -- usually made by the shaman -- demonstrates phenomena of a socially determined character which should be prevented or hastened. These dreams are those that give rise to the series of ceremonies or rites leading to a conjuration, as we saw in the corresponding chapter.

[116 cont.]

787 If someone dreams that a certain person is dead, and he sees him in that state, it is because he will be seeing a steer killed in the near future; and vice versa if in the dream he is present during the sacrifice of a steer it means that a certain person, who is then identified by the interpreter of the dream, is going to be killed by violence.

If in a dream one sees a person who lives at a distance, it fortells that within a short time he will be seen; and vice versa if the person in the dream lives in the vicinity of the dreamer, it indicates that that person will not be seen for a long time, or never; in other words, he is soon going to die.

If someone dreams that he cares greatly for a certain person, and he sees himself making demonstrations of affection toward him, that person will no longer care for him, he will forget the dreamer [117] and completely ignore him. On the other hand, if the dreamer appears to be very disdainful of an individual and shows his feelings of dislike for him, it means that the person is going to care for him passionately.

When in a dream a person is going to be murdered, this means that someone of his group will die, not the person dreamed of but some other.

If in a dream he has the sensation (nightmare) that he is falling from the hammock in which he is sleeping, that is a sure sign that when he is dead those who are carrying his body to the cemetery will let it fall and crash to the bottom of the grave, when the social norm stipulates that the body of a dead person should be lowered carefully and slowly to its final resting place. Such an occurrence signifies that the bearers of the body held the dead man in little esteem.

[764] [554]

A woman who dreams that she has, or that she will have, a daughter is convinced that this means that her honor is going to be defamed, that she will be involved in vile gossip and slander; people will say that men have abused her, and when they see her with a man they will say that he is one of the many with whom she has had illicit relations. But when she dreams that the child she will bear will be male, this is a sure sign of a putchi and that her family will be involved in an interclan war and will suffer

[117 cont.]

[787] reprisals from their opponents. One of our informants, a married woman without children, told us that on one occasion she dreamed she was going to have a male child. A short time afterward, her group, the Uriyŭ, became involved in a fight with the Epieyŭ, who were much stronger; several members of her group were killed, others sought asylum in the Capuchin convent, and the majority emigrated to Venezuela in order to avoid greater disasters.

When the action of a dream represents the sacrifice of a steer, and the dreamer is accompanied by a person of a different clan, the interpretation given is that the dreamer will perish at the hands of one of the family group that appeared in the dream with him. During our stay in Nazaret we attended the funeral ceremony of a woman who was found dead one morning, seemingly hanged from a forked pole in the interior of her home. It was soon established that she had been murdered by her husband, who had brutally beaten her and who, to avoid punishment for his crime, had fixed her body to appear as if she had hung herself. One of the relatives of the dead woman stated after the occurrence that some days before the woman had had a dream similar to what we have just described.

Furthermore, to dream of convalescing from any kind of sickness indicates that the dreamer will suffer [118] from the [755] sickness dreamed of. To avoid this, he must arrange an exorcism, which consists of the celebration of the fiesta that would be given when a sick man has recovered from such an illness and has become convalescent, that is, a chicha-maya dance at which, at the expense of the man who would have suffered the sickness, chicha and meat are partaken of by all who attend.

With respect to the foretelling of interclan wars, which appears to be an obsession among the Guajiro Indians, in addition to what we have noted above, we have an indicator dream, when the dreamer sees a great flood of water washing away everything in its path, devastating everything that comes within its reach, and carrying the dreamer away with it. He, however, is able to save himself from drowning in the flood by grasping some plants growing on the bank or a log floating in the stream.

[118 cont.]

[787] The meaning of this is that shortly there will be a terrible family war into which his own family will be drawn, but as he saved himself in the dream by catching hold of something, he has the conviction that he will likewise come through the war safe and sound.

[302] The Guajiro is usually guided by his own experience when making an excavation to find drinkable underground water for his own use or for his animals. But all too often when the spring of water appears after days of hard work, it has to be abandoned because the salinity is too high to permit the water to be used. It is traditional, however, that the Guajiro finds the best places for water through his dreams. The sleeper recognizes the place where he should excavate to find water, and with unshakable faith he puts into practice what he has dreamed. Naturally, by coincidence the dream at times comes true, but in the majority of cases this does not happen, yet this does not prevent the Guajiro from continuing to believe in his dreams.

If an Indian dreams that on walking abroad he meets a serpent which coils itself about some part of his body, it is a sign that he is, or is going to be, a very intelligent person with a facility for learning a language other than his own. If, on the other hand, in the dream he shows fear of the snake and runs away, that means he has no qualifications for learning and is mentally slow.

If he dreams of food in abundance, numerous troubles are approaching him.

If an individual dreams that after climbing a high hill, he finds himself on the summit, it is a symbol that he will live for many years and will die at an old age. [119]

If he dreams that he is tossed by a bull, it is a sign that in a short time he will have whooping cough.

Lastly, if a man is sound asleep, and he dreams that someone comes to the spot where he is lying and grips him firmly and thus wakes him up, the cause is none other than the presence of the wanurú, or the spirit of a dead person, that comes to visit him.

These examples of dreams, which do not cover the infinite variety that occur among the Guajiro nor their diverse

[119 cont.]

787 interpretations, will suffice to show that the life of these Indians is built around natural and supernatural phenomena impregnated with a magic factor, and that it is difficult to separate them.

789 836 Other magical acts. The belief exists among these natives that to eat another person's leavings of food implies the acquiring of his qualities. Thus, if one eats the leavings of someone having white hair, one's own hair will become white. Women are therefore very addicted to eating food left by white women when they visit them because they want to obtain a paler complexion. It is also quite common among the men to eat food left by those who are distinguished for their bravery because by this they may acquire some of their courage. This belief extends to everything that may have contact with the person's mouth or breath. Cigar and cigarette butts have this same virtue. They also believe that if an Indian smokes a cigarette butt that has been thrown away by a foreigner, he will acquire one of the qualities of that foreigner -- his beard.

778 789 This gives us a clue to the existence of what some authors have called mana. It is nothing more than a memory which shows itself in the magic phenomena we have been describing. The idea is not clear but it may be presumed to have existed in former times. Mana is a force that transmits qualities; it is both energy and vitality, which in spite of being intangible impregnates everything it touches. It can be absorbed or acquired in different ways, and from this we derive the explanation which has been given for cannibalism in some primitive tribes. Its concomitant effect is that it has led the Guajiro to keep one of the aspects of this idea: that food, and in general all objects that have been in intimate contact with a person who has certain characteristics, superior in the eyes of the native since he wants them and would feel more complete with them, bring him that force, that singular essence, through magnetization -- permit us the term for its graphicness -- which it has acquired by touching the possessor of such qualities. [120]

The object, or the food, has robbed, so to speak, a little mana from the individual who was in intimate contact with it.

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[147 cont.]

775 and plants either individually, or collectively with the appearance of epidemics; spiritually by inspiring reprehensible actions such as murder, which brings social misfortunes in its wake. In general, all the transgressions of the Guajiro social law -- rape, suicide, infidelity, etc. -- are inspired by this spirit.

2. They have permanent sites of habitation, especially in unoccupied houses.

3. They are grouped into special categories dependent on the circumstances of their death, which influences their manner of life in the next world.

4. They make their appearance by adopting special [714] bodies, that is, they make themselves visible. In this they differ fundamentally from the spirits of good, like Maraiwa, who manifests himself in no bodily form. In this connection [148] we have the following native belief: If during the night 775 or in the late hours of the afternoon, a sizeable, nocturnal white 825 moth is found in the bedroom, it must not be mistreated or killed. It must be treated with consideration because it is nothing but the spirit of some ancestor -- wanurú -- who has come on a visit. If it becomes very troublesome and keeps one awake by its fluttering, it must be put out of the room very carefully. [715] If it should be killed, the spirit of the dead incarnated in it would appear in dreams and exclaim: "Why did you kill me? I like you and for that reason I came to visit your home. You have done me harm." And most certainly the spirit would take vengeance in some bad way or another on the person who had violated the rules of hospitality due the spirits of the dead.

775 Yonujú. The concept of Yonujú is more difficult to clarify. He seems to be the same as the wanurú for the following reasons:

1. The natives when they refer to him give one to understand that he is the spirit of the dead.

2. As with the wanurú, he has his sites of fixed habitation, especially in cemeteries, in the crevices of Cabo de la Vela, or hidden in the boughs of trees in the lonely woods of Emejuy in Lower La Guajira.

[753] 3. Also, as with the wanurú, he is the cause of both physical and spiritual harm to the natives and to the community in general.

[153 cont.]

182 *756 e) Defense of the community and the individual from the harmful influence of evil spirits, an influence which largely expresses itself in personal and communal illnesses.

554 *756 In exchange for all these services given by the shaman, the community offers him as payment, on one hand, their backing, respect, admiration, and even fear, and on the other hand, material goods which consolidate his status of privilege, such as necklaces, cloth, jewels in general, animals, and money.

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182 741 [154] In accordance with the previously established division between magic and the foretelling of the future in Chapter IV, we should now state that the diviner, like the shaman, serves to maintain, defend, and restore the regimen for individual security and collective stability, an affirmation which we have based on the following functions which he performs:

a) Discovery through divination of the causes of illnesses, thus permitting the prescribing of adequate medication, with great probability of success for the patient, who is generally a child.

[785] b) Also through divination the restoration of lost objects and the discovery of the thief — factor in the breaking of the regimen for personal security — so that the thief may suffer the penalties with which society punishes those who violate the cultural norms concerning personal property.

• [787] c) Divination by which, when husbands are absent from home, their state of health can be ascertained and their wives can provide them with rapid and effective help.

d) Determination, in the last instance, of a novice's "vocation" or lack of "vocation" in the science of shamanism, a decision which is of great importance for the community in general, since on it depends whether the community has in its future magician a defender of its regimen for stability, a counselor and spiritual director, or, on the contrary, a charlatan on whom the protector spirits have not descended to illuminate him and who

182 [154 cont.]
1791 is for this reason most probably a moral and material fraud.

We have to remember that there are two fundamental facts
1956 with respect to divination: 1) that the shaman can be both
787 things, magician and diviner, which increases his position and
● prestige; and 2) that any individual can learn for his personal use and the good of others the methods of divination, which do not require, as they do in the case of the shaman, the illumination and constant presence of the protector spirits who exercise their domination over the individual in whom they dwell and whom they submit entirely to their will.

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182 Ordinary magic, that is, that which does not depend on
626 the shaman or the diviner, but is rooted in popular belief and
789 is like a code of preventative norms tending to avoid the breaking of institutionalized cultural patterns, is also a true regimen for [155] stability. It clearly indicates that if this or that norm is violated, the individual will suffer the punishment in himself, in his offspring, or in his family group, such as, for example:
a) nonattendance at burials, not assisting in the digging of graves, not looking on the lowering of bodies into the grave, etc., on the part of both parents when the woman is pregnant.

b) The prohibition against approaching children or sick people after having touched a corpse.

c) The precautions that a pregnant woman should take on meeting a snake.

d) The ceremony that should be practiced with the corpse of a first-born child.

e) The restriction imposed on a pregnant woman's husband regarding hunting with modern firearms.

f) Finally, the observation of all those norms whose violation may adversely affect the actual birth or the health of the newborn baby by causing the mother to be upset and ill before or during childbirth.

g) We may also see this action of magic in the use of different kinds of charms (fetishes, amulets, talismans), in the express prohibition of not pronouncing the personal name of an

[158 cont.]

262 meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

[189]

754 c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very
789 marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in those matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him
182 bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and
• 787 allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which
789 he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

104 achiote (Bixa orellana)
192 ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita maxima)
824 artemisia (f. Synanthereae or Compositae)
indigo (f. Leguminosae)
cardon (Pilocereus atroviridis)
mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrilaceae, Sp. Mahogoni of Linnaeus)
lupine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

season, and it was then the dry season. The dance was the so-called chichimaya. This was arranged because Mauana had dreamed that he ought to spend several cattle and lots of maize beer on a performance of this kind. Otherwise dances are arranged in connection with a girl's being confined in her hut and on a number of other similar occasions. The medicine man, piache, often orders a dance when someone has fallen ill, when a casimba has run dry or when they want rain. They also dance when the herds are marked and castrated. Neighbours and relatives are invited to bring their young girls and these need never lack for partners, for the young men come of themselves, when they hear of it. It is not impolite to ask about the refreshments to be provided before accepting an invitation. The Indians prefer beef to goat's meat, and a beef-dance will be very well attended.

We reached Mauana's house a little too early. The maize beer was not quite ready. Maize beer, or chicha as it is now generally called by the Creoles, is simply a gruel made of ground maize, and it constitutes the Indians' daily fare, as it does in much of native South America. If this gruel is allowed to ferment, it becomes slightly alcoholic and the Guajiro then call it *ajar*. Fermentation is traditionally stimulated by the women chewing the maize, and this also is done in Guajira. The maize is sometimes mixed with manioc. The resultant brew, *ishiwaa*, the Indians consider pleasant and strengthening. The ordinary, slightly sour unchewed maize gruel appeals more to the European both as regards taste and hygiene.

Mauana had intended to regale us with spirits, but fortunately we managed to persuade him to give ordinary maize gruel instead.

Gradually people began to assemble, all in their finery. Mauana explained that it was only a small performance. He really did not have time for such things just then, but the promptings of dreams had to be followed.

In the dusk we all went down to the feast-place outside a couple of huts, where an area had been well swept. Round this the guests had now begun to assemble. They stood in a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his position there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat, which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to happen was that the person threatened had to go out and kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone beads and suchs were placed in the graves. Then, when farmers began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

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CHAPTER 10

Conjuration of Spirits

How does one become a piache? Not of one's own volition. Those worthy are chosen by the spirits and receive their summons in a supernatural way. The wanuru spirit itself visits the chosen one, who may be a boy or a girl. Women are often sorcerers in Guajira. One of them gave us this account of how she received her summons.

First she saw in front of her eyes a fall of shooting-stars, a rain of gold; then everything went dark and she sank to the ground. The first warning usually comes like that. Some days later she had violent attacks of shivering, cold sweats and vomiting. As she lay in her hammock more dead than alive, she heard a voice say: 'Eat manilla or you will die.' (Manilla is a kind of chewing tobacco which the Indians now obtain from white traders, but in default they have recourse to tobacco leaves. The spirit always orders the person to chew manilla.)

The woman's relations hastened to get some manilla and at the same time sent for a piache, who would have to decide whether the girl really had received a call or not.

Another woman told us that her first symptom was thoroughly prosaic: constipation. During the night she dreamed that the spirit came and led her by the hand to a big plantation. She awoke trembling, but then heard a voice ordering her to eat manilla. By chewing tobacco she recovered completely. Her mother, who was herself a piache, at once began instructing her in her profession.

After the summons comes the apprenticeship. The magical tobacco seems of great significance for the medicine man or woman to be, and even for the fully trained. The

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medicine men of South America make great use of tobacco, and at first it was mostly reserved for them. The chewing of tobacco can cause an intoxication, through which a magician can put himself into a state of ecstasy. Of course, the nicotine has a violent effect on the children whom the spirit orders to eat manilla, and it is not easy to say whether the symptoms accompanying the summons are due to abuse of tobacco or to other infirmity. It is said that those called to be piache always fall ill. The Indians are fully convinced that dreams have significance for their actions. While asleep they receive instructions which they seldom dare fail to carry out. The youth or girl who is summoned receives his or her revelation either in dreams or while in a hysterical state. The Indians consider them to be possessed by the spirit, and the piache for whom they send then has to decide whether the spirit really has visited the boy or girl, or not. If it is not possible to fetch a piache immediately, they will sometimes have to make do with a sooth-sayer, an *eatschi*, who though not a proper medicine man, at least can 'smoke tobacco', that is to say, can foretell future happenings, find strayed animals, etc. They are often well patronized. The outschi swings a firebrand in the air while puffing at a cigar—magical tobacco again!—and the trails of smoke tell him what he wishes to know. He can merely confirm that there has been a true revelation, that the spirit visited the young person and entered into him or her. A sooth-sayer can go no further than that, but that gives the parents the comforting assurance that the piache, who has to be summoned in any event, will not come in vain. The piache has no objection to a sooth-sayer making a diagnosis.

The attacks from which the candidate suffers both at his selection and when he becomes fully qualified, lead to a trancelike state. It is characteristic that a dead piache may not be buried until after three days and nights, so that it is quite certain that he is dead and not just that his soul happens to be away. A cataleptic state and hallucinations are characteristic of future and practising medicine men alike.

There is no avoiding the call to be a piache once it has

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been confirmed by sooth-sayer and piache. The person selected must learn the profession and practise it. Otherwise, certain death awaits him, for the spirit will not suffer his decisions to be neglected.

Often parents cannot afford to send for a piache, for those who convey the request have to give him a necklace of gold beads. This may mean that the novice's family has to ask well-to-do relatives to pay the fee. When he arrives, the piache examines the candidate and stuffs some manilla into his or her mouth. When he sees that it is beginning to take effect, he intones a monotonous song. As soon as he stops, the novice must proclaim his desire to become a piache and have it granted. He is selected by the spirit, but he does not yet know anything. The apprenticeship then begins.

The piache shuts himself into a suitable hut together with the novice, and there they must stay, hidden from the world, for a month or more. The apprentice is not supposed to be seen by anyone during this time. No one may go in and interrupt the seance. The piache sits on his stool of light wood shaped like an animal. He wears a head-dress made of wool and places a similar one on the novice's head. He then begins singing songs, swinging rattles and making all the gestures, movements and conjurations that he uses to call upon and move the spirits. His instruction continues day after day, sometimes by night as well. He has to keep to a certain diet. Roast maize in particular is usually prescribed. Now and again spirits appear and talk with the novice, encouraging him, not least by expounding how great are the advantages of being a piache, and how rich the presents he receives.

One day the spirit announces that the first period of instruction is over and the novice ready for examination. This is an intermediary examination, for the instruction is not complete. So far it has only included spells and magical songs, and the novice has no knowledge of herbs and poisons. (Knowledge of medicinal herbs is common to all by family tradition.) The songs, gestures and spells have been repeated till the novice knows them all perfectly.

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During this period of confinement the novice is always having to chew tobacco, and it is during periods of nicotine-intoxication that the spirits appear to him. After his first examination the novice is given a diadem and a rattle, *maraca*, as symbols of his new dignity.

The novice's family must now arrange a dance and sacrifice sheep or goats. A chichamaya is performed during one or two days and nights. Those taking part are ceremoniously painted. The animals are slaughtered and offered to the spirits who partake of them during the night. After that the dancers can eat. No one, however, may touch the meat till it has lain, wrapped in leaves, at the spirits' disposition and thereafter been dedicated by the piache, who spits tobacco juice upon it and pronounces spells over it.

The apprenticeship, of course, is not over, and again the novice is shut away from the world. Now comes a period of instruction in the art of chewing tobacco, that is to say, how, where and when that is to be done and what are correct ways to summon spirits, cure illness, make rain, protect cattle, halt epidemics and much more that the medicine man may be called upon to do. The instructing piache transfers his spirit to the apprentice, and exhorts the former not to start by trying to cure adults, but to practise on children. The spirit also forbids erotic association.

After a few months the apprentice will be ready to qualify. Large quantities of maize beer are then prepared and invitations sent out.

While the guests are drinking and dancing the novice sits, still isolated, practising. The spirit comes and orders him or her to send for a beast of certain colour and with specific markings, which is to be sacrificed to the spirit. When that has been done, and it must be done, the spirit demands some necklaces of gold beads—any number up to ten—which have to be hung up in the novice's hut. As soon as these have been collected with the help of relatives—often as a loan—the spirit pronounces himself satisfied and informs them that the novice's apprenticeship is over. He or she can now begin to practise. But, the spirit adds, there

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must be no intimate association with women, not even with a wife! 756 757

The spirit has not merely accepted the novice as a piache, but has entered into him, possessed him and will accompany him during all his magical seances. As a person a piache is of no importance, but when the mighty spirit fills him he becomes the equal of the real spirits. He cures the sick exclusively by supernatural means, with the help of the spirits. Of real medicine he knows nothing. According to the Indians' ideas there are no natural causes of illness and death, which are ascribed entirely to dangerous spirits. [833] [755] [753]

When a piache is summoned to cure a sick person, he must be given a gold necklace or some other valuable gift. He brings with him two maraca rattles, the usual magical instrument of the South American Indians, and a stool shaped like an animal. If necessary, he can sit on some other stool. One of his magical instruments is small pellets made by someone with a great knowledge of herbs and formed like goat's excrement, which are intended to attract the spirits.

While the piache is in his trance everyone must remain silent, otherwise the spirit may take fright and leave the piache's body, at which he will fall to the ground in convulsions and be ill. The piache chews tobacco all the time, and with the resultant magical saliva he smears his patient's body and often the walls and roof of the hut as well. He sings a song, invoking the spirit and sucks the parts of his patient's body that hurt, thereby drawing out the cause of the illness: poisoned spirit arrows that have been shot at the sick person's body. [755]

Usually the piache is alone with his patient, but sometimes he will allow a near relative to be present and help. The songs the piache sings are about how his own spirit is seeking everywhere for the patient's. The demon of the illness has gone off with it and holds it prisoner. When the demon is found, it is forced to release the patient's spirit against a ransom. For this the piache demands cattle, goats or sheep with special markings or ornaments, cloaks, etc.

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756 787 If cattle, these are tethered beside the hut where the seance is being held; if ornaments they are handed to the piache.

If the piache does not receive what he demands—or rather what the spirit demands—attacks compel him to stop treatment. If the patient recovers, the piache retains the gifts on behalf of the spirit; but if the patient dies, then he is not supposed to get anything. Sometimes, however, he apparently keeps his fee on various pretexts—threats that the spirit might be angry, etc.

The piache observes his patient closely during treatment. An experienced medicine man will perhaps see that the patient has scarcely any hope of recovery and will pronounce him doomed.

During these seances the spirits often speak with the piache about the life to come. They tell him that in another existence he will come to a land with many villages that he [778] has never seen before, in a countryside well watered by blue rivers—a glorious prospect from the Guajiro point of view. It seems that the spirits are here speaking of the piaches' special heaven. Ordinary Indians, perhaps, have to be content with a less well-watered paradise. If the patient recovers, the piache orders a chichamaya dance. The maize beer for this is prepared either by chewing or by adding raw sugar, [534] *panela*. Those taking part stream in as soon as the drum, the only instrument, begins to sound. Nobody is invited; people just come as they wish. In the houses of the well-to-do they will be regaled with beef, one or more cattle being slaughtered for this. All will b in their finery. The dance will last one day or more, as the piache orders. The piache then washes his patient, who must still keep indoors.

756 When a child falls ill, the parents will often consult some neighbour who dabbles in fortune-telling to find out what the cause is. It will be cheaper to let her try, than at once to call in a professional sooth-sayer or a piache. The old woman will often burn the child with a red-hot needle or arrow-head, which in certain abnormal mental states, perhaps could provide a beneficial shock. The woman will often

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accuse an animal of spreading the disease. A certain bird is considered dangerous, spreading, as it flies over the hut, bronchitis and coughs, which in the first place attack the children. A child's illness is often ascribed to something that happened to the mother during pregnancy. If a child gets a pain in its stomach, the wise woman may say that this is because a spirit ate some of the mother's food before the child was born. To deal with this, duck feathers are burned and the child's behind smeared with ash. In other circumstances it is because a fox has nosed at something the mother subsequently ate. In that case a fox has to be killed and the child given some of its grilled meat, at the same time as the child's behind is rubbed with burned fox-bone. The child will get quite better—if the old woman is right and it was a fox. These women are quacks even in the Indians' eyes, and yet they turn to them first.

If an animal is sick, the piache himself is at once sent for. The cattle are driven into an enclosure and the piache dances round and among them, wearing his head-dress, torso bare, and brandishing his maraca, singing song-spells and spitting tobacco juice upon the animals. After some days of this, the treatment is concluded with a chichamaya dance.

The Guajiro, of course, believe in dreams. During sleep the spirit frees itself and learns things of which it knows nothing while the individual is awake. Because of this it is considered risky to neglect warnings or things of which one has dreamed.

A piache attaches special importance to his dream-experiences and knows how to interpret them. If he dreams that a snake bites someone, it means that that person will be struck by a poisoned arrow. If he sees fire in his dream, that indicates fever, while violent rain denotes the death of some rich Indian. Blood in a dream also means death, and an animal being butchered means that a person of the same age or sex will die. If the piache dreams that an enemy intends to kill a specific individual, he hastens to visit the person to help him. An animal of a certain colour is killed and the threatened individual smeared with its blood—

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that prevents his own from being shed—and after this a chichamaya dance is arranged.

It is not only through dreams that future events can be foretold. There are special sooth-sayers: we have already mentioned the outschi, who deal in prophecy without being piaches. Many real piaches also deal in prognostication, but that is not really their province. The Indians believe in the piache, more than in the ordinary sooth-sayer. 'The piache is always right', they say.

In divination the sooth-sayer also uses a firebrand that he swings through the air, or a lighted cigarette or, sometimes, a knife-edge along which he stares. Whatever the method, the sooth-sayer's spirit has to free itself and go roaming. Let us say that he is to track down a stolen cow. The freed spirit follows its path till it finds it and can say whither it has been taken. As I said, a piache will not treat a patient if he is sure that he is incurable. He often finds out about this by using a firebrand. If it goes out, there is no hope. Sooth-sayers most carefully study the different shapes assumed by the coals, which, to the initiated, are significant.

As with us, there are many amateurs, especially elder women, who try to foretell the future or discover what others are about. Suppose such a woman wants to know where her husband, who is on a journey, is and how he is faring. She takes a cigar of the primitive kind they use there, lights it and pronounces an incantation, asking to be shown what she wishes to know. If the ash turns black, her husband has fallen seriously ill, if the red part splutters it means that he will get gold, that is money. Other signs will reveal that he has associated with some other woman. That can involve the husband in considerable trouble when he returns.

Medicine men have a number of guardian or assistant spirits who advise them, but who also require remuneration for their services. They also warn the medicine men against enemies. Every piache has seven or eight such spirits, each of which is invoked with a special song. The rain demon, Mareiwa, is called in song under the name Fumayule, while

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him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *mamós*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine. Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

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portent, they would usually summon a piache or a soothsayer in order to find out for certain.

Let us now leave medicine men, for it is time to go out on our travels again.

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8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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273 method the maize is finely pulverized by hammering on a flat stone, instead of being exactmeal. Beer is drunk in large quantities, as is rum received by trade.

276 Both sexes commonly smoke long narrow cigarettes, which the women make of bundles of 8 or 10 leaves. Formerly, at least in the western portion of the country, the *Goajiro* chewed coca (hayo) with lime, which stained their teeth black. Coca is still grown, but there is no mention of this custom in recent times.

RELIGION

778 *Goajiro* religion is imperfectly known. Mareigua (Maleiwa) seems to have been the Creator and Culture Hero. He caused the first *Goajiro* to emerge from the ground and taught the tribe how to produce fire with a drill. He saved them during the flood by raising the Cerro Pororo where they had taken refuge and by driving the jaguars away. As a Supreme Being he shows some moral preoccupation, in the past having punished those who lived in incest. He sends rain and all the good things which the *Goajiro* expect from nature (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 44).

Yoluha (Yorja) has been thought to signify the god of thunder, lightning, and drought, but the term probably does not designate a single deity but bad spirits or ghosts in general. These are feared at night when
776 the sky is clouded; to prevent their inroads the *Goajiro* stretch a thin cord
789 between two poles reaching above the roof. They attach to this cord, at regular intervals, fishhooks which serve to entangle the Yoluha and make their stay unpleasant. Sometimes when sounds coming from the bush are thought to have been made by spirits, the Indians light embers and throw stones at them.

●787 The *Goajiro* give considerable importance to dreams. A dream may
438 cause the desertion of a camp, a war, or a consultation with a shaman. The *Goajiro* carry charms which they buy from shamans.

SHAMANISM

754 *Goajiro* shamans (piache) are of both sexes. Aside from their long hair shamans differ little in external appearance from ordinary persons, but their power is reputed to be considerable and people avoid offending them. They are said to cause the heart of a person to stop beating unless they are paid enough.

A shaman keeps his cures secret and divulges them only to a successor, who undergoes a long period of training and who pays his instructor a certain number of cattle. When the training is complete, there is a public initiation with dancing and drinking, at which the novice is seized by fits as demonstration of his new power. The instructor chants spells

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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over the novice as he (or she) lies in the hammock twisting and groaning as his spirit takes possession of him, imparting knowledge and power. 756

In attempting to cure, a shaman often causes greater injuries to the patient; permanent blindness may result from his effort to cure eye injuries with caustic powders or to remove foreign substances with horsehairs or cactus spines. Tuberculosis is treated by inducing expectoration and prescribing a meaty diet. Dysentery is cured with herbal medicines. Well-chewed tobacco or tobacco-laden spittle rubbed over a painful area is a common method of therapy. If the medicine man effects a cure, which he frequently does, he is rewarded with gifts of cattle, rum, etc. No attempt is made to treat smallpox, the victim often being abandoned to his fate. 755

Some practitioners who are not exactly shamans divine by burning a bundle at the end of a stick or by examining the bottom of a bottle, i.e., by crystal gazing (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 42). 771 787

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